

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 CU-02 /060 W  
-----041009Z 070829 /12/72

P R 031745Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8239  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 7872

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE UR US  
SUBJECT: CSCE: VORONTSOV OUTLINES SOVIET ATTITUDE ON BELGRADE

REF: (A) MOSCOW 7720, (B) MOSCOW 7561

SUMMARY: SOVIET CSCE SHIEF VORONTSOV CALLED IN CHARGE JUNE 3  
TO OUTLINE CURRENT SOVIET THINKING ON BLEGRADE. EVIDENT PURPOSE  
OF EXPOSITION, WHICH DID NOT ADD ANY NEW ELEMENTS TO  
WHAT WE ALREADY HAVE HEARD, WAS TO GET SOVIET POSITION TO  
WASHINGTON BEFORE SECRETARY TESTIFIES NEXT WEEK BEFORE CSCE  
COMMISSION. VORONTSOV'S LINE WAS THAT ATTITUDE OF COMMISSION  
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ON BELGRADE WAS "CONFRONTATIONAL," (BUT HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING  
THAT USG HAD SAME OUTLOOK) AND THAT "CORRECT APPROACH" TO  
BELGRADE WAS "COOPERATION" WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE CONTINUATION  
OF THE CSCE PROCESS AFTER BELGRADDE. END SUMMARY.

1. VORONTSOV MADE MANY OF THE SAME POINTS TO CHARGE  
WHICH HE MADE TO THE ITALIANS RECENTLY (REFTEL A)

CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARDS BELGRADE AND MODALITIES  
ENVISAGED FOR BELGRADE I. FOLLOWING ARE VORONTSOV'S  
MAIN POINTS:

--THERE IS A NEED FOR A "CONSTRUCTIVE" AND POS-  
ITIVE" APPROACH TO BELGRADE ("VIRTUALLY ALL PARTICI-  
PANTS" ARE AGREED TO THIS) WHICH AFTER ALL IS  
TAKING PLACE AFTER ONLY TWO YEARS, A VERY SHORT TIME  
WHEN LOOKED AT IN LIGHT OF THE ENTIER PROCESS  
OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WHICH WILL CONTINUE FOR TEN  
OR TWENTY YEARS. THEREFORE BELGRADE MUST FOCUS ON  
WHAT IS STILL TO BE DONE. IN TWO YEARS THERE HAS BEEN  
SOME, BUT NOT A GREAT DAL, OF "EXPERIENCE" IN  
IPLEMENTATION.

-- IN LOOKING TO THE FUTURE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE  
AND POSITIVE WAY, WE WILL ASSIST THE PROCESS NOT  
ONLY IN BELGRADE BUT AFTER WHEN THE CSCE PROCESS  
WILL CONTINUE.

--THE USSR IS NOT PLEASED THE THE "VASCELL  
COMMISSION" WHICH HAS AN "INCORRECT" ATTITUDE TOWARDS  
BELGRADE AND THE CSCE PROCESS. THE COMMISSION THINKS  
IN TERMS OF "CONFRONTATION" WHEREAS THE ESSENCE OF  
THE FINAL ACT IS "COOPERATION" IN A "CONSTRUCTIVE  
SPRIIT."

--SOVIETS UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS A CONGRESSIONAL  
COMMISSION AND ARE NOT ATTRIBUTING THIS AME  
ATTITUDE TO THE US GOVERNMENT. SOVIETS DO NOT, HOWEVER,  
HAVE A "COMPLETELY CLEAR STATEMENT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S  
POSITION," RATHER THEY HAVE ONLY "BITS AND  
PIECES."

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2. AFTER READING FROM THE WP FONMIN COMMUNIQUE  
(REFTTEL B) WHICH HE SAID CONTAINED "THE BASIC  
ELEMENTS OF OUR POSITION" AND TO TWO OF BREZHNEV'S  
RECENT SPEECHES, HE POINTEDLY REMARKED THAT HE HAD  
NOTED THAT SECRETARY VANCE WOULD APPEAR BEFORE THE  
"FASCELL COMMISSION" EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND HE UNDER-  
STOOD THAT HE WOULD BE MAKING A "COMPREHENSIVE STATE-  
MENT" ON U.S.CSCE POLICY.

3. CHARGE REPLIED THAT THE US INTENDS TO TAKE A  
CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE APPROACH TO BELGRADE AND ASSURED  
VORONTSOV THAT SOVIET VIEWS WOULD BE CONVEYED PROMPTLY  
TO DEPARTMENT. AFTER POINTING OUT THAT HE NOT FAMILIAR WITH  
DETAILS OF US PLANS FOR BELGRADE, CHARGE EXPRESSED  
PERSONAL VIEW THAT IT WILL BE USEFUL TO REVIEW  
EXPERIENCE OF PAST TWO YEARS IN ORDER TO HAVE  
BASIS FOR CONSIDERATION OF FUTURE ACTIONS TO  
IMPLEMENT FINAL ACT. RECALLING THE SEVEN EXCHANGES

WHICH WE HAVE HAD WITH THE SOVIETS ON CSCE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, CHARGE NOTED THAT SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, BUT THAT , AGAIN SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT MORE HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND INDEED THAT RETROGRADE ACTIONS HAD OCCURED IN SOME AREAS. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE CSCE COMMISSION IS NOT SIMPLY A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE BUT HAS EXECUTIVE BRANCH PARTICIPATION AND STATE THAT WE FELT IT HAD BEEN A SERIOUS MISTAKE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO REFUSE EVEN TO MEET WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 7872

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

4. ON MODALITIES FOR BELGRADE VORONTSOV THOUGHT THAT THE AUTUMN SESSION SHOULD BEGIN IN LATE SEPTEMBER OR EARLY OCTOVER AND COULD GO ON FOR ABOUT THREE MONTHS. HE SAID THAT THE TASKS OF THE BELGRADE MEETINGS WERE CLEARLY STATED IN THE FINAL ACT AND READ FROM IT (PARA 2(A) OF THE FOLLOW-UP SECTION) TO POINT OUT WHAT HE THOUGHT WERE THE FOUR TASKS OF THE MEETINGS. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE

NOT FINALLY DECIDED WHAT PROPOSALS THEY MAY PLACE  
BEFORE THE MEETING SINCE THERE IS STILL SEVERAL  
MONTHS LEFT BEFORE BELGRADE II.

5. COMMENT: FROM VORONTSOV'S PRESENTATION IT SEEMS  
TO US THAT HE WISHED TO MAKE HIS POINTS IN ADVANCE OF  
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THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE CSCE COMMISSION,  
THUS BETRAYING SOME UNEASE ABOUT THE POSSIBLE SUB-  
STANCE OF THAT TESTIMONY. THE ATTACK ON THE COMMISSION  
AND VORONTSOV'S CAREFUL DISTINCTION BETWEEN THAT  
COMMISSION AND THE USG MAY WELL BE AN OBLIQUE EFFORT  
TO URGE THAT THE THESECRTARY NOT TO ASSOCITE HIMSELF  
TOO CLOSELY WITH THE COMMISSION. FINALLY, VORONTSOV'S  
REMARKS ABOUT THE NEED TO TAKE A "POSITIVE" APPROACH  
IN ORDER TO CONTINUE THE CSCE PROCESS BEYOND BELGRADE  
APPEARS TO BE A MESSAGE THAT PRESSURE ON THE SOVIET  
UNION WILL NOT PRODUCE DESIRED RESULTS, BUT MIGHT  
EVEN SHORT CIRCUIT THE CSCE PROCESS BY MAKING SOME  
(E.G., THE USSR) UNWILLING TO CONTINUE BEYOND BELGRADE,  
OR AT LEAST MAKING IMPLEMENTATION MORE DIFFICULT  
AND SLOWER. IN ANY  
CASE IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WILL BE LIKING CAREFULLY AT  
THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION AS A  
DEFINITIVE PRE-BELGRADE STATEMENT OF THE US  
ATTITUDE.

6. FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF SOVIET CONCERN IS SHOWN  
BY A CONVERSATION RG EMBOFF TOLD US HE HAD MAY 24  
WITH VORONTSOV IN WHICH THE LATTER EXPRESSED APPREHENSION  
ABOUT THE POSSIBLE US APPROACH TO BELGRADE, STATING  
THT HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT SOME OF CSCE  
COMMISSION MEMBERS MAY BE ON US DELEGATION AND  
EXERT A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON US ACTIONS IN BELGRADE.  
SIMILAR WORRIES HAVE ALSO BEEN EXPRESSED TO FRENCH  
EMBASSY BY MFA OFFICIALS DEALING WITH CSCE MATTERS,  
ACCORDING TO FRENCH EMBOFF.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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